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There are several words which change their form, or which are even substituted by others, according to the sense or connection; thus *u'-te-kin*, sometimes pronounced *ku'-te-kin*, means out or outside of the house or of anything else in all ordinary cases; but for a person to go out of the house is not *mia u'-te-kin* or *mia ku'-te-kin*, but *mia ku pa'-gi*. This *pa'-gi* is used in no other connection; and the sound occurs nowhere else in the language except as *pagi-chi-ka* (sugar) and *pagi*, the numeral eight, with either of which, it is obviously not related. But the numerals illustrate this most markedly. For instance three is *m-nyat*, and as such it is used in counting all *things*; three houses, *ku m-nyat*; but three men are *pe m-nyal* and three days are *kosh m-nyar*. *Bit*, how many, becomes *bil*, how many persons, &c. Old, fat, to grow, pregnant, &c., change in a similar manner when applied to animate and inanimate, or to human and lower objects. 196 193

It is remarkable that in a language otherwise so poor, at times it should go to the other extreme. In civilized languages, notably in Spanish, there is a great variety of words to express the shades of colors of animals, particularly the horse. These words, originally adjectives, are often used as nouns. But in Bri-bri we have eight nouns to distinguish pigs, six of which are for color; viz.: 192

| | |
|---|---|
| white, | *mu-lush'*. |
| black, | *do-losh'*. |
| gray, | *bish'*. |
| red, | *mash* (*a* as in far). |
| half-white, half-black. | *bi-tsus'*. |
| black, with white face, | *kŭ-jos'*. |
| with throat appendages, | *bu-lish'*. |
| short-legged, | *na'-na* (Spanish *enana*, a dwarf). |

These words are in every sense nouns only, and are just as correctly the names of the respective animals as the generic term "*coche*." Chickens and dogs have similar distinguishing names, but I have never been able to learn that horned cattle (*vaca*, whether bull or cow,) are so honored. Horses are comparatively unknown. The only representative of the race in the country being Mr. Lyon's old yellow mare, there has never arisen the necessity for the additional tax on their inventive powers. Words expressing physical qualities of matter are as abundant as in more civilized languages, and their use is as strictly limited. Hard, strong, or stiff, is *dŏ-re'-re*. Soft, like a cushion or fresh bread, is *b-jo'-b-jo*, while soft like cloth it is *a-ni'-a-ni* or *a-ni'-ni-ĕ*. Weak or fragile, like a string, or a vessel, powerless like a weak person, or tender like meat, are *to'-to* or *to-toi'*. Elastic, like caoutchouc, is *ki-tsung'-ki-tsung*; when like a switch, it is *kras'-kras*. Plastic, like mud or putty, is *i-no'-i-no*. Pasty, like dough, is *i-tu-no'*. When more fluid, like very wet mud, it is *a-bas'-a-bas*. Viscid, like syrup or honey, is *kŭ-nyo'-kŭ-nyo*; while very fluid, watery, is *di-se-ré-ri*.

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192 Plantains, bananas, maize, and beans must have been in use by the Indians before the arrival of Europeans, since they have specific names for all of them, but all domestic animals have only the names that came with them.

I have found very few words that I can trace clearly to foreign sources. The names of introduced animals, mentioned above, articles of clothing, and foreign utensils make up almost the entire list. We have *ar'-ros*, Spanish arroz'; *sombre'ne*, Sp. sombrero; *zapato*, pure Spanish; *pana*, English pan, all hollow vessels of thin metal, of whatever form; *cuchara*, Spanish; *bi-wo*, English bead, *wo* native word for anything round; *tigera*, Spanish; *pussy*, English; *chi-chi*, Aztec *techichi*, the edible dog of Mexico (*fide* Belt), a word used all over Spanish America, and adopted by the Bri-bri and adjoining tribes in the Spanish form; *cachimba*, vulgar Spanish; *da-wa'*, probably corrupted from tabaco; *ko-no'*, corrupted from canoe; *vaca*, *caballo*, and *coche*, Spanish. *Alma*, a corpse, bears a suspicious resemblance to the Spanish *alma*, the soul. *Do-ko-ro'*, a chicken, seems to be derived from the crow of the cock; *i-s'-na*, is probably not the Spanish *llena*, with which it corresponds in meaning, but is derived from *s'-na*, finished. *Ese*, that, and *es-es* (= Spanish *eso es*) are probably derived from the Spanish.

202 The enumeration is decimal, and is simple in structure. Few pretend to count beyond ten, and in counting loose objects if the number is considerable, they are set apart in groups of ten; thus forty-six would be four tens and six. In speaking of numbers the fingers come into play. It is as common to see three, four, or more fingers held up, with the remark "so many" as to hear the numeral mentioned. Beyond ten, the toes are called into service, and the surplus over the ten toes is counted on the fingers, held downwards in this case. The word for five, *skang*, is clearly (*u-ra*) *ska*, the fingers. Beyond ten we have "ten more one," &c., but from twenty upwards I found so much confusion of ideas and contradiction that I strongly suspected my informers of politely trying to invent compounds to please me. By careful questioning, and still better, by watching conversations, I found that twenty is "ten two times," &c., after which the form of the "teens" is repeated, so that twenty-one is "ten two times more one," *d'bob but juk ki et*. There is no word for one hundred unless we use *d'bob d'bob juk*, which would be legitimate and intelligible, although I confess I never heard it used.

193 *Wa*, *ka*, *ke*, and *ta* added as suffixes are equivalent to the English *ed*. Thus *i-da-wo'*, to die; *i-da-wo'-wa*, dead; *lin'-a*, crazy; *yu lin'-a-ka*, he is crazed; *pat'ye*, to paint; *pat-yet'-ke*, painted; *su-tat'*, flat; *sut-tat'-ke*, flat-tened; *boi*, good; *boir'-ke*, healed; *bō-ta'*, a point; *bō-ta'-ta*, pointed, &c.

*Kli* used as suffix is equivalent to our *ish*; thus *boi*, good; *boi-kli*, goodish (*i. e.* pretty good or well); *tyng*, large; *tyng'-kli*, largish; *mat'-ke*, red; *mat'-kli*, reddish. *Ung* and *ong*, which in Terraba and Tiribi are almost the universal signs of the active verbs, are represented by the termination

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*wag* in nearly a dozen Bri-bri verbs, where it has about the same value as English affix *ate*. 193

Articles and conjunctions do not exist in the language, the other parts of speech being however present.

Nouns have no inflections for gender, number, person, or case. If it is desired to express sex, the word male or female is used; thus my daughter is called *je la s-ra'-kur*, my woman child; a bull is *suca se'-nyi* or male cow. The only exceptions to this rule are the few words referring to the human race, like man, woman, and some of the family relationships. Beyond this no distinctions of gender occur.

Number is always indicated by a numeral or by such words as much, many, &c. Two or three words occur that may be considered as apparent exceptions. *Di-cha'* means a bone; *di-che'* is bones. *Di-ka'* is thorn and *di-ke'* is thorns, not two or three, but all the thorns on a tree, in a collective sense. *U-ra'-ska* (*u-ra* arm) is a finger, while *u-ra shkwe'* (? fingers) is the hand. The coincidence in the termination of these isolated plurals, if they can be so called, is worthy of note.

Person is only indicated by the addition of a personal pronoun. The only semblance of inflection for case, is the addition of *cha*, the sign of possession, alike to nouns and pronouns; or of the prepositions, *wa*, *ta* (with), &c., as suffixes, making an ablative.

The personal pronouns are all monosyllables except *ye-pa* (they), a compound of *ye* (third per., sing.) and *pa* people. Although normally of one syllable, they are often used with the termination *re* (except *ye-pa*) for either emphasis or euphony; thus it is equally correct to say *je* or *je'-re*. *Me* (yourself) is used only in connection with a verb, like *me-sku*, move yourself; *me ta ta*, lie (yourself) down. The sign of possession, as stated above, is added alike to the pronoun, or to the name or title of a person; *je-cha*, mine. *Ese* (that) is probably derived from the Spanish, and with *i* (literally *what*) does duty for the neuter. Where the nouns in a language are so simple, it is hardly to be expected that the adjectives and adverbs should suffer many changes. *Boi*, good or well, used either as an adjective or adverb, becomes *boi-na*, better, and a sort of superlative is formed by adding very; *boi chukli*. *Tyng*, large, is in an increased degree either *tyng chukli*, very large, or *tyng bru*; *bru* meaning also large but adding emphasis when the two words are combined. To *boi* and *tyng*, *kli* is added as a suffix to qualify the sense, like *ish* in English; *boi-kli*, goodish, pretty good, and *tyng-kli*, largish, or somewhat large.

The short *i* which begins most of the Bri-bri verbs, is not specially the sign of the infinitive, but is almost universally used where the verb is not preceded by another word, and is sometimes used even then for euphony.

There are four well-defined moods: the infinitive, the indicative, the subjunctive, and the imperative. The subjunctive is as simple as in English, being formed from the indicative by *mi-ka-re'* (if) placed at the beginning of the sentence.

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193 Humboldt,* in speaking of the language of Venezuela, says: "The Chayma and Tamanoc verbs have an enormous complication of tenses," and adds that "this multiplicity characterizes the rudest American languages." It certainly does not apply to the Costa Rican family, which is equally remarkable for the simplicity of its inflections. The present tense does duty for the present participle, and the perfect for the perfect participle; besides which we have the past and but a single future. There is no variation for number or person.

The auxiliaries used are not constant. For the imperative, *ju* is sometimes prefixed, and *mis* is often the sign of the future. It is generally a prefix, but in *i-kaw-na*, to fall, it is added to the end of the word. *Etso* (from *etso-si*, to be,) is the sign of the present tense in *pat-yu*, to paint.

The following examples will give a better idea of the conjugations than a lengthy explanation. They were selected from a large number, and have been verified with as much care as the difficulties of the case would admit. I believe they may be safely trusted, inasmuch as they are words that I have heard in constant use for over two years, and not trusting to categorical information, have watched their habitual use in conversation. The first example, *i-mi'-a*, is the most variable verb in the language. The forms given in each tense are usable interchangeably. It is equally correct to say, "*je mit-ka*," or, "*je mi-at'-ka*," I go. The past *re*, and *ra'-re*, are used everywhere except by a few people on the Coen River, where the more regular form, *mi-a'-na*, is used.

CONJUGATIONS.

To go.

Inf. i-mi'-a.

Ind. Pres., { mi-at'-ka, / mit'-ka, } used interchangeably.

Past, { re, / ra're, } from the verb, *ra'-taki*; the forms ordinarily used. / mi-a'-na; used only on the Coen River.

Perf., mi-cho'.

Fut., { mi'-a, affirmative. / (ke) mi'-na, negative (*ke*, not.)

Imperative, ju. When in combination with an object expressed; *be* JU *i-tu*, "thou go shoot." This is the almost universal auxiliary sign of the imperative mood.

ju-shka, *ju*, as above; *shka* (*shku*), to walk.

mi'-shka, confined to the first person plural. It means, "let us go," or, "come," and can be used as an auxiliary to almost all the other verbs; *mi-shka du tu*, "let us go birds shoot."

* Trav., vol. i., p. 357, Eng. Ed.

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To burn.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Inf. | | l-nyor'-ka. |
| Ind. | Pres., | l-nyor-ket'-ke. |
| | Past, | l-nyor-no'-ka. |
| | Perf., | l-nyor-no'-wa. |
| | Fut., | l-nyor-wa'-ne-ka. |

To cook.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Inf. | | l-lu'. |
| Ind. | Pres., | l-luk'. |
| | Past, | l-li'-na. |
| | Perf., | l-let'-ke. |
| | Fut., | l-lu'. |
| Imper. | | l-luk'. |

To speak.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Inf. | | l-ähtu'. |
| Ind. | Pres., | l-ähtuk'. |
| | Past, | l-ähte'. |
| | Perf., | l-ähtet'-ke. |
| | Fut., | l-ähte'. |
| Imper. | | l-ähtuk'. |

To walk.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Inf. | | l-shku'. |
| Ind. | Pres., | l-shkuk'. |
| | Past, | l-shke'. |
| | Perf., | l-shket'-ke. |
| | Fut., | l-shku'. |
| Imper. | | shku'-ta, walk to (come). |
| | | ju'-shka, walk from (go). |

To this verb we must add the following irregular forms: *shkat'-ke*, to walk ahead; its derivative, *it-kat'-ke*, has gone ahead, and *ni'-shka*, for which see the note to the first verb, *i-nia*.

To shoot, to chop.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Inf. | | l-tu'. |
| Ind. | Pres., | l-tuk'. |
| | Past, | l-te'-na. |
| | Perf., | l-tet'-ke. |
| | Fut., | (mia) l-tu'. |
| Imper. | | (ju) l-tu'. |

To paint.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Inf. | | pat'-yu. |
| Ind. | Pres., | (etso) pat-yuk'; (*etso*, to be). |
| | Past, | pat-ye'. |
| | Perf., | pat-yet'-ke. |
| | Fut., | pat-ye'-ke. |
| Imper. | | pat-yuk'. |

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To eat.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Inf. | | I-kŭ-tu′. |
| Ind. | Pres., | I-kŭ-tet′-ke. |
| | Past, | I-kŭ-te′. |
| | Perf. | I-kŭ-te′-wa. |
| | Fut., | I-kŭ-te′. |
| Imper. | | I-kŭ-tuk′. |

To start.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Inf. | | I-bĕ-te′ |
| Ind. | Pres., | I-bĕ-te′. |
| | Past, | I-bĕ-te′. |
| | Perf., | I-bĕ-tet′-ke. |
| | Fut., | I-bĕ-te′. |
| Imper. | | I-bĕ-ti′-nuk. Only used in a negative sense, "*ke bĕ-ti′-nuk*," do not start (or move); *i. e.*, "keep perfectly quiet." |

To roast.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Inf. | | I-ku-ke′. |
| Ind. | Pres., | I-ku-kuk′. |
| | Past, | I-ku-tu′-na. |
| | Perf., | I-ku-ket′-ke. |
| | Fut., | I-ku-ke′. |
| Imper. | | I-ku-kuk′. |

To exchange.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Inf. | | I-mne′-we. |
| Ind. | Pres., | I-mne-wet′-ke. |
| | Past, | I-mne′-nŋ̃g. |
| | Fut., | (mi′-a) mne′-we. |
| Imper. | | I-mne′-nŋ̃g. |

To sleep.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Inf. | | kI-puk. |
| Ind. | Pres., | kI-pa-wet′-ke. |
| | Past, | kI-pe′. |
| | Perf., | kI-pug′-wo.<br>kI-pet′-ke; third person plural only. |
| | Fut., | kI-put′-ke. |
| Imper. | | (ju) kI-put′-ke. |

To lose (inanimate objects).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Inf. | | I-cho′-wa. |

There are no changes in this verb, except that *mis* is added to the Ind., Fut. There is no Imperative.

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To lose (animate objects).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Inf. | | l-cho-ral'. |
| Ind. | Pres., | l-cho-rai'. |
| | Past, | l-cho-rai'. |
| | Perf., | l-cho-rat'-ke. |
| | Fut., | l-cho-ret'-ke. |

To listen.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Inf. | | l-ẽhtsu'. |
| Ind. | Pres., | l-ahtsuk'. |
| | Past, | l-ẽhtse'. |
| | Perf., | l-ẽhtset'-ke. |
| | Fut., | l-ẽhtse'. |
| Imper. | | l-ẽhtsuk'. |

To count.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Inf. | | l-shtaung'. |
| Ind. | Pres., | l-shtaunk'. |
| | Past, | l-shta'-we. |
| | Perf., | l-shtaung'. |
| | Fut., | (mia) shta'-we. |
| Imper. | | l-shtaunk. |

To fall.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Inf. | | l-haw'-na. |
| Ind. | Pres., | l-haw'-nuk. |
| | Past, | l-haw'-ne. |
| | Perf., | l-haw-net'-ke. |
| | Fut., | l-haw'-na (mi), (*mia*). |

To push.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Inf. | | pat'-ku. |
| Ind. | Pres., | pat'-kuk. |
| | Past, | pat'ke. |
| | Perf., | pat-ket'-ke. |
| | Fut., | pat'-ke. |
| Imper. | | pat'-kuk. |

To feed.

jé-ku' has the same terminations as pat'-ku.

To want.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Inf. | | l-ki-a'-na. |
| Ind. | Pres., | l-ki-a'-na. / l-ki-et'-ke, third person only; when "he *wants* you." |
| | Past, | l-ki-e'. |
| | Fut., | l-ki-e'. |

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193 194 The place of the accent is strictly determined by the structure and etymology of compound words. In words composed of a noun and an adjective, the accent is placed on the adjective; thus *dí + kí-bí'*, large water, *i. e.*, river; *ché-ka + tyng'*, large substance, *i. e.*, stout; *se-wé' + juk*, cotton substance or raw cotton. This applies equally to the emphasis in a similar phrase like *pē kow'-ré*, other, or different people. When the word is composed of an adjective or adverb, with a verb, the accent goes with the verb; thus, *i-ewúq + pu'*, to spread; *i-se + tu'*, to shut. When composed of a noun and a verb, it follows the same rule; thus, *bē-ta + se'-ta*, the remainder (*i. e.*, the end stays or remains). When composed of two nouns, one in an adjective sense, the accent is on the qualifying noun, like *se' + se*, navel; *du' + ka*, nest or bird-house; *tsu' + dí-e*, milk or teat-juice; *tsu' + se*, a woman's breast; *tsu-se' + bē-ta*, nipple. This rule is almost universal in Bri-bri, and obtains generally in the other languages; the greatest number of exceptions being in Terraba.

195 In the simplest sentence, the nominative begins, followed by the object, and the verb comes last. When a noun is qualified by an adjective, the adjective follows the noun. In the same way the adverb follows the verb; and the verb closes the sentence, unless it is accompanied by an adverb, or adverbial phrase. In case there are, in addition to the nominative, object, and verb, another noun, governed by a preposition, these latter close the sentence. I strike you; *je be pu*, *I thou strike*. I strike you hard; *je be pu dērere*. The strong man chops the wood well; *wawi dērere kar ta bel*. Will you go with me?; *be mia je-ta*, thou go I with. *Ta*, *se*, and *weq* (see notes on the nouns) are always added as suffixes to the nouns or pronouns which they qualify, and form a sort of ablative case. But where *weq* is used in the sense of "where is," it begins the sentence. Whose hat (is this)? *ji sombrero?* Mine; *je'-cha*. How many people are there in your house? *ye bil tsoi be ka-weq?* people how many are thy house-s where? Where is he? *weq ye 'tse?* where he is? He remained in the middle of the road; *ye onte ngore shong*, he remained road middle. Give me a chair (or bench), *krū-se' se'-nya;* chair give me. Give him, *se'-ye*. Reach me my hat; *je sombrero be wra reaka*, my hat thou hand reach. Heat the water; *dí ka-wng*, water make hot. The water is hot; *dí ka ka-se*, water warm heated (is). Put out the fire; *kowe se-tu'*, fire extinguish (or close). The fire went out; *kowe i-te'-se*. Shut the door; *Ka ĭkku se-tu'*, house door shut. Unfasten the door; *ka ĭkku se-jet'-se*. Open the door; *Ka ĭkku se-ka'-se*. Where is my knife? *weq je tabe?* where my knife (*et se*, to be, understood)? Your knife is there; *be tabe tsoi dipe*, thy knife is there. Give me my knife; *je tabe nanya*, my knife give. My knife is very sharp; *je tabe akala bel*, my knife toothed good. Go shoot a bird, or go shoot birds; *be je du ta*, thou go bird shoot. What with? *i-se?* With a gun; *mekkur se*, gun with. What kind of a gun? *mekkur is?* gun what kind? Our country gun (blow-gun); *se kenaka mekkur*, ours country gun. There are no balls (the clay balls or pellets); *mekkur se ke ka*, gun round (things) no more

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(*are* understood). Why do you not make some? *i kuenks be-ke mokkur we-juwe?* why thou not gun round (things) make? There is no clay (or material); *mokkur wochika ke ku*, gun round (things) material no more. Is your gun a good one? *be mokkur boi?* thou (thy) gun good? Does it shoot well? *itu boi?* shoot well (or good)? Good morning; *be shke'na?* thou art awake, or arisen (literally, straightened up). Reply; *je* (I) *shke'na*. *Be ratski;* thou hast arrived (salutation on a person entering a house). *Je ratski*, I have arrived. How are you? *is be 'tso?* how thou (*et-so'-si*) art? I am well; *je 'tso boi*. Where did you come from? *wesũ be bete'?* where thou start? Who went with——? *ji re ——ta?* who went—— with? I did not see; *ke je wai suna*, not I (*wai* idiom) saw. I do not know; *ke je wai uphchan*. This *wai* occurs nowhere except in these two instances. What did you go for? *iub be re?* why thou went? I went to call my people; *je re je wakipa ikĩu*, I went I (my) people to call. Are they coming? *yepa ratski?* they come (or arrive? No; I think they have gone away; *au; je kẽnbeku ye mieho*, No; I think they have gone. Let us go too; *mishka hekepi*, let us go alike. Where is ——? *wesũ——?* He has gone ahead; *ye 't-katke*, he has walked ahead (see note on *i-shku*, in conjugation). Put on your clothes; *be su-wi' i-u*, thou clothing (cotton) put into. 193

SECTION II.—MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

Although the tradition exists that the people of Terraba are a comparatively late emigration from the region of the Tiribia, and although the tradition is sustained by the general resemblances of language, and by the fact that the Brunkas (or Borucas), evidently older occupants of the soil, are crowded into a corner like the Celtic tribes of Europe; yet there are marked differences between the idioms spoken in Tiribi and in Terraba. The Dialects of Southern Costa Rica can be divided into three groups: First, the Bri-bri and the Cabecar; second, the Tiribi and Terraba; and lastly, the Brunka. The three divisions possess many roots and even entire words in common, and may well be compared in their resemblances and differences with the Latin languages. The first group is strongly marked by the short *i* before nearly all verbs and by a generally more musical sound; while the second is harsh, in consequence of the frequent repetition of sound of *s*. The Cabecar *i* before the verb is not so persistent as in Bri-bri, but is more strongly pronounced, approaching more nearly the ordinary Latin or Spanish *i*. The terminations *ung* and *ong* are as marked as the sign of the verb, in the second group, as *i* is in the first. The *s* which almost invariably accompanies this termination, is rarely a part of the last syllable, but is usually sounded at the end of the penultimate, unless when abbreviated into *su* or *so*. 197 [174]

A gradual process of change is clearly discernible in these languages. As yet the Bri-bri and Tiribi have been but little affected. But the Cabecar of Coen is absorbing many Bri-bri words because the people of the Coen, although they use their local dialect among themselves, all speak Bri-

## *LINGUISTIC TEXTS*

Attention has been called to the studies of Lehmann and Pittier (*see* Language) on the Bribri language and Lehmann on Cabécar although vocabularies have been collected by others including Gabb. The most common phonemes which we have been able to discern in Bribri are: a, ą, ą́, é, ę, ę́, ə, i, ĩ, o, u, ú, ų, k, L, bL, tL, t, ts. Adjectives are made by morphemes while many verbs seem to be derived from a noun or an adjective and a verb. There are 42 common morphemes among which we cite: au, bá, dí, do, du, ea, ie, iɟ́, ka, ka, ká, ki, kj, kú, Li, ŋę, me, mu, ta, tą, tą́, te, té, ta, sa, se, si, su, uk, ųk, še.

In Cabécar, possessive pronouns are generally prefixes and prepositions are suffixes. The prefix *ŋə-* is employed to change verbs to nouns. There is less use of the stop and almost none of aspirants or barely audible sounds which are characteristic of Bribri. The Cabécar language has recently been studied by Aziel and Marian Jones. The report appears in the second volume of the "Proceedings of the 33rd International Congress of Americanists."[234]

They find that in the language heard in Chirripó there are 31 segmental phonemes, 20 consonants, and 11 vowels. The following is taken from their report:

> The syllable in Chirripó is the unit of tone placement. . . . The word in Chirripó may consist of a single syllable of any of the syllable types, or it may contain as many as 5 syllables in about 40 different combinations of syllable types. . . . Within the word all single vowels may occur initial (except ĩ, ę, ə), medial and final. There are 13 vowel clusters which always have either i or u as one of the segments. It must be remembered that these clusters each constitute two syllables since by definition the syllable may contain but one vowel. There are no clusters of three. Vowel clusters generally occur word-final but may occur word-medial. The only example of a word-initial cluster is the word *ia'mi* where the morpheme i — *his* is prefixed to a'mi *mother*. Eight of the vowel clusters contain i as one segment, four contain u, and one contains both u and i. The specific distribution is as follows: of the group containing i (ie, ei, ia, ią, ąi, ai, oi, io) all occur final and ia and oi may also occur medial; of the group containing u (ue, eu, ua, uą) all occur medial except ua, and all occur final except eu; the cluster ui occurs only final. All of the vowel clusters are of relatively infrequent occurrence in comparison with the single vowels.

Bribri and Cabécar make frequent use of prefixes and suffixes. The double negative is common. Both languages have considerable nasalization and a tendency to use words, even though they be meaningless in the text, only for sound. Likewise, a syllable or letter of a word often is incorporated in another and stands for the complete word or term. A great part of the vocabulary employed by the medicine man in recounting myths is unintelligible to the layman. Songs also generally have terms distinct from those used in conversation, especially the sacred or curing chants of the *janá*. It is usual for Bribri songs to contain ancient Térraba (Tiribí), which is not understandable to the present day populace.

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[234] Jones, 1959.